754 The most common affliction of the supernatural was caushi. The caushi was not a spirit but an object carved to a certain form by a sorcerer, given malignant animation by him, and sent sometimes against certain people, but usually against anyone that it might encounter. All illness was [755] caused by caushi and, therefore, ultimately by witchcraft.

756 Shamanism

The chief function of the Mundurucú shaman was curing. Among his other duties was the ceremonial one of guarding the people against the attacks of Yurupari during certain rites. He was also responsible for putting in a deep sleep by a magical spell the people of a village about to be attacked and for feeding the spirit "mothers" of the game.

The power of shamanism was hereditary in the patrilineal line and present since birth. All the children of a shaman, including daughters, possessed the power, but, today, the women do not practice any more. In the aboriginal culture, female shamans had only a few specific ceremonial functions and did not cure. Curing was done by the common [755] practice of blowing smoke on the sick person and then extracting the evil object, or caushi, by massage and suction. The shaman then prescribed certain herbs and roots applied externally or drunk mixed with water that were supposed to 756 heal the internal damage done by the evil object. During 276 the cure, the shaman smoked a large cigarette to generate the necessary curative smoke, but he did not inhale in large enough quantities to produce tobacco narcosis as do the

756 [276] Tenetehara and Tapirapé shamans.[24] This was done only when the shaman "traveled" to find the "mother of the game" in order to feed her. The shaman performed his services free of charge and was in no way liberated from the work of the men. He enjoyed prestige due to his position as a curer and also due to fear of him as a potential sorcerer.

754 Only the shaman had the sorcerer's power. Others could learn the effective techniques, but they were not able to launch the evil object into the air or endow it with its malignant force. He was also capable of turning himself into a jaguar and creating other jaguars that he sent against people. The penalty for sorcery was death. This severity is explained by the Mundurucú, who say, "If we had no sorcerers there would be no sickness and people would not die so fast. So we have to kill them." At present, only men practice shamanism and are recognized as being shamans and only men are killed as sorcerers, but Tocantins mentions three cases of women accused of witchcraft in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[25]

● [753] All sickness and death were believed to be caused by sorcery, but it was only when a few people died that a powerful shaman was asked to detect the sorcerer. Only another shaman could do this because "the shaman is able to see everything." The shaman might not immediately tell the

24. Wagley, 1942.

25. Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109-111.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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776 825 These *Yurupari* make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air. Though the porpoise *Yurupari* are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other *Yurupari* is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

776 753 All types of *Yurupari* travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the peripheries of villages, and, consequently, few Mundurucú venture beyond the circle of houses after dark. The weapon of the *Yurupari* is a magical stone that it throws at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the *Yurupari* is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

776 755 There are no means by which attacks of the *Yurupari* can be prevented, but Mundurucú shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

776 797 It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the *Yurupari* while in the field because the Mundurucú informants hestitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Mundurucú. The priests translated the Devil as *Yurupari*, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the *Yurupari*." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of *Yurupari* beliefs shared by the Mundurucú and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

776 825 One of the commonest beliefs of *Yurupari* in the Amazon Basin is that of the fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a forest demon. Among the Brazilian *caboclos*, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to ensnare victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Ita the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Mundurucú *Yurupari*, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.* Brazilian neighbors of the Mundurucú also believe in 776 the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept 171 of the porpoise type *Yurupari* was borrowed from the civilized population. If 177 this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

* Wagley, 1953, p. 240.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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III. SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

THE PROBLEMS of illness, accident, and death are commonly conceived in supernatural terms by primitive peoples, and the techniques for their resolution are accordingly the province of religious practitioners. The supernatural dangers threatening the Mundurucú currently preoccupy the society more than any other aspect of the supernatural realm, for they constitute the cause of all sickness and death; and epidemic disease has beset the Mundurucú since their first contact with Europeans. But the Mundurucú do not feel broken and powerless before the onslaughts of ailments to which they have little natural immunity. Mystical in nature through the evil may be, it is not mysterious, for it can be explained and controlled. The threat is no less concrete for existing on a level of reality beyond the sensory powers of ordinary mortals, but the protection of the society must, therefore, rest in the hands of persons who are able to see and act in this sphere. These individuals are viewed by the Mundurucú as the possessors of great and manifestly beneficial power, although they recognize the corollary principle that this power is potentially dangerous and corrupting.

THE SHAMAN

The Mundurucú shaman, or *mamú*, has the ability to deal with supernatural threats through possession of a mystical power latent within him from the time of his birth. His functions within the society are manifold. The shaman performs cures; he is essential to nearly all ceremonies; he propitiates the spirit mothers of the animal world; he rids the community of evil forces; and he can detect lost people and objects. But through essential to the well-being of society, the power of the shaman can be used for evil ends. His status is ambivalent; he maintains a balanced and favorable relation between the human and supernatural worlds, and he is capable of profoundly disturbing this balance.

Most Mundurucú villages have at least one shaman in residence, although some have none. The shaman has high prestige, although the respect accorded an individual practitioner is at times mixed with fear when it is suspected that he indulges in black magic. In spite of the high regard in which he is held, he receives no material benefits for his services. Among the more acculturated Mundurucú, a small present is sometimes given to the shaman for a cure, but this pattern appears to be of recent origin and obtains in only a minority of cases. The shaman does not devote full time to his specialty. All practitioners hunt, fish, and clear gardens with the other men and manufacture baskets, bows, and other objects.

The shaman frequently makes great personal sacrifices in the performance of his duties. Some travel great distances to treat those who are too ill to come to them, and they often make these trips to the detriment of other activities and tasks. The practice is considered dangerous, for the shaman must face the dual menace of contact with hostile spirits and the suspicion of his fellowmen. But most Mundurucú shamans are motivated by a true sense of public service. They feel that they possess a great power that can be used both for good and bad ends and be-

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is used by the shaman to extract from afflicted people the *yakíp*, or malignant object sent by the mother of the game. All these instruments are inert until the shaman blows power-giving tobacco smoke upon them. They are then thought to be "alive" and to have "strength."

Disease and Its Treatment

In order to understand fully the important role that the shaman plays among the Mundurucú, their theories of disease and affliction must be outlined. There is practically no human misfortune that cannot be attributed to supernatural influences. If a Mundurucú suffers a slight cut on his foot, he may admit that it was due to sheer mischance. But if he incurs a serious wound, the shaman is usually consulted and invariably attributes the affliction to the vengeance of the mother of the game. Any infection, pain, or other aftereffect of the wound is generally thought to be the work of the *yakíp*, which is sent by the mother of the game or by the soul of the animal offended by the wounded man. Similarly, a snake bite, a fall from a tree, or any other serious misadventure that cannot be classified as a disease is usually diagnosed by the shaman as the vengeance of the animal world.

Diseases also are the result of evil supernatural influences. But whereas serious accidents are attributed to the spirit mother and therefore to the negligence or stupidity of the stricken person, disease strikes people regardless of their activities. And though afflictions that have clear and obvious causes, as cuts or snake bites, are also thought to be the vengeance of the supernaturals associated with the animals, disease is caused by sorcerers. All sorcerers are shamans who consciously wish to hurt their fellow men. The sorcerer causes disease by modeling a variety of objects and blowing smoke upon them to give them life. The evil objects, called *cauši*, are then wafted off on the wind to wander through the air until they encounter some human. Invisible to ordinary people, they enter the body and cause illness. The particular illness depends upon the material out of which the *cauši* was modeled and the shape given it by the sorcerer.

Two distinct processes are required for the proper cure of illness. First the *cauši* is extracted from the sick person's body by the shaman, and he then prescribes certain herbal remedies to repair the damage caused by it. The first part of the cure is uniform for all *cauši;* the herbal remedy prescribed is, however, specific for the malady.

The process of extracting a *cauši* is extremely simple. The sick person strips his or her clothes from the part of the body where the pain is localized and sits or lies on the ground. The treatment most often takes place in the patient's dwelling, but the shaman sometimes receives the ill in the men's house. After the patient is prepared, the shaman takes one of his large cigarettes, which are wrapped in a thin layer of the inner bark of the tauarí tree, and commences to smoke. As he smokes he crouches over the sick person and intently stares at his body. The shaman does not inhale or swallow excessive amounts of smoke, and narcotic effects are specifically denied. Rather, the smoke heightens his extra-visual ability

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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to see the *cauši* within the patient's body, and he is considered to be in a state of intense concentration. During this period the many observers of the cure fall silent, and even the children are hushed. After completing his examination and identification of the *cauši* lodged within the patient's body, the shaman blows clouds of smoke over him. This is an essential part of the cure, for the tobacco smoke is believed to dislodge the *cauši* from its place deep within the sick person and to bring it nearer to the surface, from where it can be easily extracted. Once the shaman has accomplished this end, he commences to massage the patient's body, stroking inward toward the point where the pain is localized. At the completion of the massaging the *cauši* is believed to be directly below the skin and just above the source of pain. The shaman quickly applies his mouth to this point and sucks noisily at the patient's skin. He then draws away and deftly removes the *cauši* from his mouth, into which he has supposedly sucked it, and holds it out in his open palm for all to observe. He examines it with great care for some time and throws it into a fire, where it is thought to be completely destroyed. The object exhibited by the shaman is usually a small piece of wood or the pit of a palm fruit. The sleight of hand involved apparently requires no great ingenuity, but everybody is firmly convinced that the shaman has really extracted an evil object from the patient. I was unable to induce any shaman to reveal the innermost secrets of his art, but I am convinced that the shaman, too, believes that he extracts *cauši*, elusive though his reasoning may be.

The sole deviation from the above procedure occurs during the extraction of a very large and dangerous *cauši*. The shaman localizes the object and brings it to the surface of the body in the usual manner, but he extracts it with a quick, grabbing motion of the hand.

The *cauši* is visible to the shaman both when flying freely through the air and when lodged in the patient's body. Ordinary persons can see it only after the shaman has extracted it. There are ten reported varieties of *cauši*, each of which represents a type of disease recognized by the Mundurucú. The *cauši* is believed to wreak considerable damage while in the sick person, and its extraction and destruction is not sufficient for a full recovery. This can only be through the application of herbal remedies, each of which is a specific for a certain type of *cauši*. These medicines are thought by the Mundurucú to be either "hot" or "cold"; the *cauši* is believed to cause considerable internal bleeding, and hot medicines remove this old blood from the body, and on the other hand, cold medicines reduce fever and alleviate pain.

The following is a list of the ten varieties of disease recognized by the Mundurucú and a description of the *cauši* believed to cause each and the medicinals used to repair their damage.

1. *Dau* (leg) *pipí* (pain), or pain in the leg, is caused by a *cauši* carved in the shape of a sting ray and made from its tail. This *cauši* lies on the floor in the doorways of houses and waits for an unwary person to step on it. Although it causes intense pains in the leg, its effects are not fatal. To cure the aftereffects of *dau*

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pipí, the shaman heats the leaves of a tracuá vine over a fire and applies them to the center of the pain. This poultice, despite being heated, is considered a cold remedy.

2. *Ipea pipí*, or pain in the stomach, is instigated by a *cauši* that is made from a bitter manioc tuber or a piece of soap. When the object is made from soap it causes a mild stomach-ache, but when made from bitter manioc the poison is believed capable of killing the victim. Three varieties of cold medicine are used to cure the aftereffects of this illness. An unidentified species of potato is grated in water, and part of the mixture is drunk while the rest is poured over the patient's stomach. Another remedy uses a few scrapings from the castanha de arara mixed in water and taken both externally and internally. Also, the root of the jambú plant is beaten into a half-gourd of water and drunk.

3. *Ekaabí pipí*, pain in the back, differs from the other ailments in that it is caused by a *cauši* that is actually a living bird. This bird, a species of curujá da noite, can be heard at night, but is never seen. When it flies directly above the house, the inhabitants are in danger of being afflicted with backache. A cold remedy for backache consists of a paste of grated ginger root which is applied to the affected parts. Another medicine is made in a similar fashion from the root of an unidentified shrub.

4. The material and form of the *cauši* that causes *ũũsabí pipí*, or pain in the side, was not known by my informants, although five remedies were listed as effective in its cure. The following three are cold medicines. Pau de candeia is grated into boiling water and the compound drunk while still very hot. A broth is also made from envira de cacao, and grated deer antler is mixed with cold water and used both internally and externally. Hot medicines include a poultice of heated jamarú leaf and a broth made of the ashes of kamaíu cane mixed in hot water.

5. The common cold is called *ockõ ockõ*, an onomatopoetic word, and is believed to be caused by a *cauši* which consists of a bit of talcum powder rolled in paper. Four cold remedies include hot drinks made with lemon, ginger root, the root of an unidentified shrub, and the sap from a tree. The only hot remedy known is made by boiling mel de chupe and taking it internally.

6. The *cauši* that causes *nunchai pipí*, or pain in the uterus, is made from the root of an unidentified tree. Menstrual pains are not believed to be caused by this object, nor is it thought to cause labor pains. A hot medicine, used to free the woman of the old blood from the intra-uterine bleeding caused by this *cauši*, is made by cutting up the root of a paxiuba palm and boiling it in water. Some of this preparation is administered internally, and the remainder is placed in a pot below the woman's hammock. The rising vapors are believed to aid in the cure. Ashes of the paxiuba palm are also mixed in water and drunk.

7. *Paiat*, or fever, generally accompanies stomach-ache, according to informants. Actually, such a concurrence of the two afflictions occurs during an attack of chronic malaria, and the stomach-ache is, more accurately, a pain in the liver. Two cold remedies are used to reduce the fever. The first is made by grating a

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vine in hot water and applying the mixture to the stomach. The other consists of the trunks of very young buriti palms crushed in water. Part of this mixture is drunk, and the rest is applied externally to the torso of the sick person.

8. *Ok pipí*, or intestinal pain, is caused by the same *cauši* as *ipon pipí*, or stomach-ache. However, the term *ok pipí* is in reality reserved for dysentery, for it is always accompanied by severe diarrhea. The medicines used for stomach pains are considered effective in the relief of intestinal pains also, but two additional cold remedies are used as specifics for the diarrhea. The roots of a certain shrub are boiled in water, part of which is taken internally and the rest allowed to steam below the hammock. The leaves of this shrub are also applied to the abdomen as a poultice. The same use is made of the leaves of the murirú pagé, a water plant. The local Brazilians also boil the leaves of this plant and place the steaming pot below the hammock of a bewitched person. The vapors are believed to cause an evil object to fall out of the victim's body.

9. *A pipí*, or headache, is treated by mixing *envira de castanheira* in water and applying the solution to the head. *Unripe Brazil nuts* are also grated into water and similarly applied. Both remedies are considered cold. The nature of the *cauši* that causes headache was not known by the informants interviewed.

10. The tenth and last ailment is a three-stage sickness generally known by the name applied to its first stage, called *ujewuši*. In this primary phase, the afflicted man or woman becomes unhappy and listless and eats mud, soap, and other inedible substances. The symtoms increase in severity in the next stage, or *yauka*, and the victim becomes thin, yellow, and "bloodless." Finally, the patient passes into the state known as *toubekat*, at the end of which he usually dies. During the final illness, the person's soul sometimes becomes one of the dreaded wandering souls. The symptoms are descriptive of the chronic forms of a number of illnesses, such as malaria, dysentery, and jaundice. The Mundurucú attribute it to a *cauši* made of roasted earthworms rolled into a ball and spread in the air. No remedies were known.

A person can be afflicted by more than one *cauši* at a time, and the shaman often recommends a number of herbal preparations. The shaman does not himself administer these remedies, but instructs the kinsmen of the sick person in their use. They then collect the proper herbs and apply them.

The techniques used by the Mundurucú shaman are so widely distributed throughout eastern South America that any attempt to trace their provenience would be overly lengthy. The shaman's use of tobacco smoke and the techniques of sucking and massage are almost universal in the Amazon area. Of equally wide distribution are the use of herbs and the various methods of applying them. Infusions, external applications, and steam baths are, as Lowie indicates,[1] known among a number of tribes of the region.

One aspect of Mundurucú herbal medicine worthy of further discussion is the division of remedies into hot and cold categories. This distinction is made throughout most of Latin America with regard to both medicines and f[illegible]d. The Mun-

[1] Lowie, 1948, pp. 53–62.

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219 171 durucú, however, do not classify their foods in this manner, suggesting that the concept was perhaps borrowed from their Brazilian neighbors together with certain medicinal recipes. Furthermore, although the list of diseases and remedies is undoubtedly incomplete, it is significant that only twenty-four herbal medicines were reported. A much longer list could be collected among rural Brazilians of the area, who also use most of the same herbs employed by the Mundurucú.* This leads immediately to the question of whether the civilized inhabitants of the Amazon borrowed the medicinal preparations from the Indians or whether diffusion operated in the reverse direction. Although the use of herbs by the Indian population of the Amazon is undoubtedly a pre-Columbian practice, and although diffusion probably operated in both directions, it is very possible that the greatest borrowing was by the Indians. This is probably true for the Mundurucú, although we cannot be so certain for the first Indian groups encountered by the Portuguese. The herbal knowledge of these coastal tribes is, of course, crucial to the question.

753 The Mundurucú theory of disease exists side-by-side with certain sound empirical observations on the subject. They are well aware that epidemics are contracted through contact with white people. For example, when either my wife or I caught a cold, the Mundurucú avoided close proximity to us. Even on those occasions when we fell ill after an epidemic had already developed in the village, they were inclined to blame us. Also, they recognized that residence along waterways or near swamps was often accompanied by fevers (malaria), and they knew that the savannah villages were therefore more salubrious. Both contagion and the unhealthfulness of certain locales were loosely connected with the prevalence of the sorcerer's evil objects, or *cawó*, despite the contradiction implied. However, in this as in many other lines of thought, the Mundurucú do not push logic to its conclusion, for the roots of the supernatural concepts are social and not intellectual. The empirical observations and supernatural concepts coexisted with little effort on the part of the Mundurucú to integrate them, if, indeed, they were aware of the mutual antipathy of the two.

757 755 Moreover, despite their supernatural explanation of disease, the Mundurucú freely sought the rational medication, that we provided. Every day, a number of people came to our house for treatment, some from other villages; in only a very few cases did we have to seek out the sick and persuade them to accept our aid. Our experience in this matter was not unique, for both the mission and the Indian Post dispensed large quantities of medicine to Mundurucú patients. Not even the shamans resisted treatment; many were, in fact, our most faithful patients.

There are a number of reasons for this lack of resistance to Western medicine by the Mundurucú. Through long contact with the whites, they had come to recognize the efficacy of the white man's medicines, especially in the treatment of diseases they knew to be associated with the civilized population. Some even knew the names of specific remedies; I had the unusual experience of having a tattooed, seminude Indian ask me for "*salfá*."

* Note also the many herbal remedies reported by Wagley (1953, pp. 241–253) from the Amazon River town of Itá.

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754 lived in different villages, but the sorcerer leaped the distance to his brother's village and stalked him in the forest. The married brother heard the approaching whistle of the jaguar and backtracked and lay in wait for it. When it appeared, he shot the creature in the head, the only vulnerable point in its body, and thus killed it. He then cut the jaguar's throat, thrust his hand into its body, and dragged out its liver. He mixed the liver with gunpowder and left it on the trail. After he returned home, a group of men from his brother's village arrived with the intent of killing him. The sorcerer, whose jaguar form had been slain, had returned to his village sick and had accused his brother of bewitching him. The brother explained that he had merely defended himself against his own brother, who was the real sorcerer. The assembled men believed him, and the guilty brother wasted away and died.

Cases of jaguar sorcery were extremely common among the Mundurucú. During our residence with them, one of the residents of the mission was suspected of making and spreading *couši* and turning into a jaguar at night. It was further believed that he had created other jaguars that were constantly lurking behind his house. But the presence of the priests prevented the Mundurucú residing at the mission from killing the suspected man, and they merely avoided his person and his dwelling. Even the powerful shaman who lived in the mission village had resolved to move away rather than live near such a dangerous personality.

753 Although all disease is believed to be caused by witchcraft, a single occurrence
754 of illness within a community does not generally provoke direct action against
689 an accused sorcerer. When, however, sickness becomes rife within a village, and
756 especially when deaths result, the responsible sorcerer is sought out and killed. The practice of destroying a witch is resorted to only when the community is faced by a major threat, and the inevitability of occasional illness is usually rationalized as owing to stray *couši*. In spite of this inconsistency, the simple formula which attributes disease to witchcraft, and therefore calls for the death of the sorcerer, cannot be more rigorously applied if shamanism is to continue. Even under this modified application of the rule, the shaman's position is most precarious. One or two shamans are executed as sorcerers during an average year, and their numbers are steadily dwindling. Those shamans who are fortunate enough to escape accusation are visibly insecure, especially when the rainy season reunites people in their villages and the annual cycle of colds and epidemic diseases begin.

756 This constant fear induces many shamans to leave their villages and to migrate
754 to the vicinity of the Brazilian population. As an example, there were three shamans in the village of Cabruá, one of whom rarely practiced for fear of accusation. He had been suspected of sorcery once before and had escaped retribution only because of membership in the strong family of the chief. The numerical strength and influence of his family was, however, his only protection from execution, for one need not actively practice shamanism to be accused of sorcery. The possession of the latent hereditary power of the shaman suffices

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622 554 182 ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

554 578 622 797 This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 [758] [753] Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

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all Mundurucú still believe firmly in the supernatural causation of illness. Thus, the drugs of the white man are considered efficacious in the repair of the damage caused by the sorcerer's evil objects, but this in no way circumvents the necessity for the shaman to extract them. A corollary of the continued belief in native explanations of disease is the persistence of accusations of sorcery and the occasional killing of witches.

The only shaman in recent practice in Missão Velha was executed as a sorcerer in 1950. It is now necessary to call a shaman from another village or to bring the sick person to him. The lack of an actively practicing shaman has not prevented another case of sorcery from arising in the village, for the accused in this instance was a shaman by descent. The case will be described in some detail, for it illustrates how political factionalism, sorcery, and general disaffection have combined as fission elements in the loosely integrated Cururú River villages.

Several months before we stayed in Missão Velha, a great deal of illness caused the chief's son-in-law and sons to seek the services of Pedro, the most renowned of all Mundurucú shamans and a resident of the mission. Pedro, without the knowledge of the priests, of course, went to Missão Velha and performed the necessary acts to destroy all evil objects in the vicinity of the village. He then informed the others that the man responsible was one Antonio, a resident of Missão Velha whose father was a shaman, although he himself never practiced. The chief wanted no trouble and planned for a time to move away from the supposedly malignant Antonio, but the younger men of his family were determined to kill the sorcerer. Certain other men of the village, however, were not fully convinced of Antonio's guilt and opposed his condemnation. Their doubts were not a reflection of skepticism in